1: Karsten--99
116, 462, 774

(1916-18) 1935
(1928-29)

Jivaro

"In the industrial art of the Indians, just as in their agriculture, appears the strict division of labour which is characteristic of their social life and which has its ultimate foundation in their animistic views. According to this division of labour, pottery-making is the most important of the industrial tasks incumbent on the women, whereas for instance spinning and weaving, basket-making and different kinds of wood-work are occupations which, according to the idea of the Indians, are only suitable for men."

1: Karsten--122-123 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 241, 774 (1928-29)

"The agricultural practices of the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians are founded on a special animistic view in regard to the plants which they cultivate. All trees and plants are animated by spirits--the Jibaros call them wakańi, the Canelos Indians aya or supai (1)--who affect their growth and the ripening of their fruit. These wakańi, aya, or supai are to the Indians nothing but spirits or souls of men which have taken up their abode in the plants and have thus become plant souls. The animistic philosophy of these Indians does not recognize any particular kind of plant spirits as distinct from spirits of men, just as it does not recognize particular animal spirits or spirits of inanimate natural objects. There is only one kind of spirit or demon, who inhabits men, animals, plants, or inanimate objects, and who may also permanently or occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. This view which, of course, is intimately connected

"1. In the Quichua language aya means 'soul' in general, whereas supai means 'demon'. All supai are aya, but all aya are not supai. According to the idea of the Canelos Indians, poisonous plants--for instance those ofwhich they prepare their arrow-poison-- and plants with extraordinarily strong properties are animated by supai, the rest by aya."

with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, forms a characteristic feature of the religigion of the Jibaros, as, in fact, of the Indian religion in general. According to the mythhology of the Jibaros, all animals have once been men, and although there is not a simililar myth in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the pplants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that animate them have oncee inhabited human bodies, just as they may once more, either for a longer period or onlyy incidentally, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endoowed with human thoughts and feelings, and when intoxicated by certain narcotic [123] drinhks--made of tobacco and two other narcotizing plants--the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definite human form, namely as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with this belief. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be men, others--and in fact the majority of them--are said to be women.

This idea also explains the division of labour which prevails among the Jibaros with regard to agriculture. Those plants which are 'men' must be sown and tended by the men, whereas those which are 'women' must be cultivated by the women. Of those fruits that form the staple food of the Indians, most are regarded as female. Hence

among the Jibaros, as in fact among most Indian tribes, agriculture is essentially, although not exclusively, a duty incumbent on the female sex."

l: Karsten--151-152 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"The Indians believe that each of the plants used in preparing the arrow-poison is inhabited by a spirit or demon (súpai) to whom its poisonous properties are due. It is this demon that kills the victim when the poisoned arrow pierces his body. This is why the arrow-poison is also called súpai hámbi, 'the devil's medicine'. The spirit inhabiting the plants is influenced, as it were 'developed', compelled to concentrate its power, by the way the poison is prepared, and by the conjurations and incantations pronounced, just as, for instance, the spirit of the manioc plant is concentrated in the fermented manioc-beer. The poison cooks are thoroughly convinced of this fact, and the precautions they observe as well as the secrecy in which they veil their operations are due to this very belief. The spirit which is conjured and coerced is very angry and tries to harm its subduers. The poisonous gases which rise from the boiling pot are an expression of the anger of the tormented demon. The cooks therefore try to avoid, as far as possible, inhaling the harmful vapours which, they assert, make them ill. When they come home from the forest they are in fact pale and weak and behave as if they were more or less sick because they have had intercourse with the demons [152] of the poisons. It is probable, however, that their weak state is due more to the strict fasting than to the effects of the poisonous vapours."

l: Karsten--154 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"The Jibaros have the same ideas as the Canelos Indians regarding the nature of the poisonous plants and the prepared poison: in each plant there is a spirit or soul (wakáni) which effects its growth and which, at the cooking of the poisons, is influenced and developed. The demon, being coerced and constrained by the conjurations of the medicine-man, is very angry and tries to revenge himself on his tormentor. This anger finds expression in the poisonous vapours rising from the pot. The fasting to which the cook submits, as well as certain other precautionary measures, aim at protecting him from the evil demon. Thus for instance, before he starts cooking, he divides his hair into the three pigtails which are customary among the Jibaros and are believed to enhance a man's power of resisting evil spirits. For the same reason he paints himself red in the face with roucou, and stops his nostrils with cotton so as to avoid inhaling the noxious vapours. When the cook returns home in the evening he is still haunted by the demon, who sucks him on the shoulders, the breast, and the back, and torments him at night with unpleasant dreams and hallucinations."

1: Karsten--170 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
774 (1928-29)

"As soon as the little dog [JKM: small dog bred by Jibaro for hunting] has grown somewhat bigger and is able to eat substantial food, the liver of some animal, generally that of the hog, is given it to eat. The liver is soft enough for the tender teeth of the dog, and moreover, since the soul of an animals [sic] is believed to be present in its liver, the dog is supposed to become skilled in hunting the wild hog by eating that part of its body. The dog is not allowed to roam about at liberty in the forest, because it may be harmed by meeting some demoniac animal or some evil sorcerer, who may shoot his magic or bewitched arrows at it so as to make it fall ill and die."

l: Karsten--206-207 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 585, 276, 774 (1928-29)

"Fully to understand the 'tobacco feast' of the Jibaro Indians it is necessary to know the wonderful powers which are ascribed to this narcotic plant. The ideas which the Indians entertain on this point will be explained with more detail in connection with their religion. As to the feast itself, its general aim, as already pointed out, is to impart to the future housewife strength and ability for the various domestic occupations and duties which are incumbent on a married Jibaro woman. The spirit of the tobacco will take possession of her entirely and fill her with a mysterious power, not only for the moment but for many years onwards, and this power will, as it were automatically, be transferred to all departments of her activity: she will get energy and insight for the tending of the domestic animals and for the care of the plantations of manioc, plantain, camote, beans, etc., so that the former will grow fat and increase in number, the latter develop, flourish, and bear abundant fruit. The Jibaros use for this the expression: kuchi, atáshi, áha pamboártinyu, 'to increase the swine, the chickens, and the plantations.' The woman will also be able to serve her husband well and to bring up her children nicely. All this is effected by the tobacco, or properly speaking, by the spirit (wakáni) of tobacco, upon which a mysterious influence has been exerted through the ceremonies of the feast.

One point may require special explanation. We may ask why not only the principal person of the feast, the young bride herself, but also her sister and the other female

relative, who are regularly mentioned in connection with her, have to take part in the main ceremonies. When I asked the Indians for an explanation, I received the answer that this is necessary 'in order that the fields may grow well and the swine and the hens increase.' The answer at first sight seems somewhat obscure, but the Indian train of thought is nevertheless in its way logical. The power of the tobacco spirit, as we have seen, will, through the woman in whose honour the feast is held, be automatically reflected upon those departments of life where a married woman is active. The effects will be enhanced if three women, who are closely related to one another by the tie of blood, are at the same time the objects of its benign influence. The three women in reality form one single personality, just as brothers in a way form a social unit and have duties and responsibilies [sic] in common. --We shall encounter the same idea in regard to the great victory feast, [207] where the victor's wife and daughter regularly take part in the principal ceremonies.

It is clear, however, that since the 'tobacco feast' is only arranged in honour of girls that are about to marry and wholly has reference to their duties and occupations in the married life, we are entitled to regard this feast as a nuptial festivity in the proper sense of the word."

I: Karsten--229-230 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 828 (1928-29)

"According to the idea of these Indians the parents, and especially the father, form with the newborn son, as it were, one single personality. [230] The soul of the latter is intimately associated with the father's own, and everything that happens to the father during the critical days is supposed directly to affect his tender son.

This view is much easier to understand when we take into consideration that the Indian not only assumes an intimate connection or sympathy between himself and his newborn child, but that the same mysterious 'sympathy' is believed to unite him more or less closely with almost any object which is the result of his work. Thus we have seen that when an Indian has bought a little dog which he proposes to breed for hunting, both he and his wife start to fast and submit themselves to certain other rules in their mode of life of much the same nature as those observed when a child is born. Similarly he fasts after he has sown maize and certain other plants, while he is making a drum, a blowgun, and so forth."

"The plant spirits have hardly less importance in the religion of the Jibaros than the animal spirits. It is indeed a belief in the animistic philosophy of the Indians, that all trees and plants are animated by spirits or souls just as men and animals are. Nor does the wakáni of a plant differ in essence from the wakáni of a man or an animal. According to the mythology of the Jibaros all animals have once been men, and similarly in regard to plants, their whole animism rests upon the belief that even the plants are in a way human, namely, in so far as the spirits that ani-[379]mate them temporarily may, either for a long or short period, take human form. The Jibaros speak to the plants as if they were endowed with human thought and feelings, and when intoxicated by the narcotic drinks prepared from certain plants the spirits of these plants appear to the narcotized Indian in a definitive human form, namely, as some remote ancestors of his. Moreover, the custom of naming women after plants is intimately connected with the same view. The Jibaros go so far as to attribute a special sex to each kind of plant: some trees and plants are supposed to be 'men', i.e. to have a man's soul, others --in fact the majority of them--are said to be 'women', i.e. have a woman's soul.

The growth of trees and plants and the ripening of their fruits is due to the wakáni or soul inhabiting them. But, of course, only such trees and plants have a place in the religion and superstition of the Indians as are particularly useful or distinguished by

some striking properties. Thus real worship is accorded to the garden plants, the manioc, the banana, the maize, the beans, the earth-nuts, etc. in connection with the cult of Nungüi mentioned before. Nungüi noa, the mythical Jibaro woman, created all fruits in the beginning and still reigns over them. In the different plant spirits--those which, like the manioc, the beans and the earth-nuts, are of the female sex--there is something of her own spirit; she alone, therefore, is able to give an abundant crop to the women cultivating them. On the other hand, for such garden plants as are supposed to be of the male sex--as for instance the banana and the maize--the Jibaro men who have to cultivate these plants appeal to the mythical husband of Nungüi, Shakaĕma, who presides over them and influences their growth and fertility. What the religion of the Jibaros has to show of real worship or cult is mainly illustrated in the prayers and incantations addressed to Nungüi and Shakaĕma in agriculture.

Of trees that have great value for the Jibaros from an alimental point of view the chontaruru palm (Guilielma) is the most important. Its excellent fruit is the food most appreciated by the Indians for a couple of months of the year, and perhaps still more appreciated is the fermented beer that they make from it. The chontaruru palm has a man's wakáni or soul and is therefore planted and tended by the men. At the time of the year when the fruit grows ripe great festivals are held in connection with the preparation of the beer and the beer-drinking, dances being performed and incantations sung in order

to [380] 'hurry on' the ripening and increase of the fruit and the fermentation of the beer.

On the other hand the chonta palm, both the one cultivated for the sake of its useful fruit and the wild species (shingi), are also regarded as 'demonical' trees on account of their large thorns, which play an important part in Indian witchcraft. Among the Jibaros, as among the Caneloe Indians, the medicine-men make frequent use of chonta thorns when they want to bewitch their enemies, as we shall see later on. From this point of view the spirit of the chonta palm is an evil demon or iguánchi, a belief which in part is also due to the iron hard wood of this tree. Not only the thorns but also other parts of the chonta palm are often used for magic purposes. Thus the lance made of chonta wood is supposed to possess magical power and to inspire not only living men but also spirits and demons with dread. Hence at the great victory-feast of the Jibaros the head trophy (tsantsa) is always tied to a chonta lance when it is not needed for the ceremonies. The spirit of the killed enemy is thus kept under restraint or control.

Other trees connected with the religion or superstition of the Jibaros are for instance the genipa tree (Genipa americana); and the guayusa tree (Ilex). From the genipa fruit the Indians get the black dye (sua), with which they paint the body and face for warfare and on certain ceremonial occasions, and to which a magical power is ascribed. The Jibaros say that they paint themselves black for warfare 'in order to resemble the

iguánchi'. The genipa is therefore a 'demoniacal' paint. Similar supernatural virtues are ascribed to the decoction made of the leaves of the guayusa tree (weisa), which has great importance as a tonic and a means of purification.

The most popular magical paint of the Indians is prepared from the red seeds of the bush Bixa orellana, which is one of the sacred trees of the Jibaros. With this red dye (called ipyáku) the Jibaros paint the face for many different ends, e.g. as protection against disease and witchcraft or in general to acquire strength and power of resistance, to gain the love of women, and so forth. The wonderful properties of the paint is due to the spirit which animates the tree.

Poisonous plants and plants with extraordinarily strong properties, for instance those used for the preparation of the arrow-poison and such as play a part in the medicine of the Indians, are believed to be animated by dangerous spirits or demons to whom these striking properties are due. Hence the precautions taken, for instance, at the preparation of the [381] arrow-poison, when the sorcerer who cooks the poison is supposed to be fighting an evil demon whom he subdues, and whose power he uses for his own ends. The idea is exactly the same as that held in regard to the fermented drinks prepared from manioc, chontaruru, etc., the strength of which is likewise due to the spirits inhabiting the plants.

Other plants which play an important part in the magical medicine and religion of the

Indians are, for instance, those comprehended under the general name of varvasco and used partly for fishing, partly for the preparation of the arrow-poison, as well as the narcotic plants tobacco, natema, and maikoa. The former have been mentioned before in connection with the Indian fishing customs, and the latter will presently be treated in detail. All these plants illustrate, in a most characteristic way, the Indian belief in plant spirits."

"The Jibaros moreover extend their animistic ideas to the heavenly bodies and phenomena, and to inanimate objects of nature. A Jibaro myth tells us that the sun, the moon, and the stars have once been men living on the earth, and certain magical ideas, current among most South American Indians, are held about the moon, but no traces of a real belief in a sun or moon spirit are to be found and still less of a cult of these heavenly bodies. The Indians seem to consider that they are too far off and have not enough influence upon human affairs to be worshipped. On the other hand, striking phenomena of nature which sometimes threaten their welfare, such as thunder and lightning, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, are always set down to supernatural causes. The thunder, the Jibaros say, is caused by a great number of shuara (enemies) --i.e. spirits of dead Jibaro warriors--who with such a noise are making their assaults upon the Indians. During heavy thunderstorms, therefore, the Jibaro men are seen brandishing their lances against the clouds, jumping, shouting, and challenging their invisible supernatural assailants with the same words that they shout against their natural enemies: winiti, winiti, páhei, 'may you come, I am ready!' The Jibaros therefore call the thunder shuara mányamai, or shuara ipyámwai, that is, 'the enemies are fighting'. The lightning (chareimbi) is also an old Jibaro warrior, one of those ancestors of the Jibaro race who are called arútama and which appear to the Indian when

narcotized by tobacco, natéma, or maikoa. Among the same powerful demons figure some other striking heavenly phenomena, namely, the rainbow (tundyáka) and the meteors and comets or shooting stars, called by the common name payára ('a falling thing'). [382]

Earthquakes (urkai) are caused by powerful iguánchi in the earth, who are shaking their bodies.

Of stupendous phenomena of nature which have particularly attracted the attention of the Jibaros one more must be mentioned: it is the violent hurricane(nássi), which frequently appears in the South American virgin forests, passing over a comparatively limited area and marking its way by terrible destruction among the trees and bushes. The Jibaros ascribe the hurricane to one of their worst iguánchi, who also figures among the arútama."

"Places and localities which have something striking in their appearance or are connected with remarkable incidents are inhabited by spirits, wakáni or iguánchi. Of these nature spirits, those of hills and mountains (neindya) are the most important. The hills are looked upon as the dwelling-places of dead sorcerers whose souls have transmigrated into these localities. When wandering upon hills and mountains, especially such as they have not visited before, the Indians keep silence and do not shoot with their guns, fearing lest the demon of the hill should get angry. When the interior of a mountain becomes as they pass it, they say that it is the iguánchi who is beating his great drum or expressing his objection to being disturbed. The great drum of the Jibaroe, called tundui, is even said to be an imitation of the tundui of the iguánchi living in the hills, and the dull sound produced by the big drum is meant to be a imitation of the booming produced by the iguánchi in the mountain. The demons of the hills and mountains, being spirits of medicine-men and sorcerers, are also believed to send disease. Hence the neindya iguánchi are often invoked by the medicine-men when curing their patients. Most feared are the snow-clad mountains and volcanoes. When the Jibaroe ascribe chills and bad diseases to such mountains, they hold an idea which is spread everywhere among the Quichuas and other mountain Indians both in Ecuador and Peru.

The Sangay, one of the most formidable volcanoes of Ecuador, has been regarded with superstitious fear as iguánchi hea, 'the house of iguánchi', where the demon torments

to death those persons whom he has caught and carried off. The Catholic missionaries, when trying to impart to the Indians the idea of hell and of moral retribution after death, have availed themselves of their ideas about Sangay as the place where iguánchi is torturing people for their sins.

Rapids and cataracts in the rivers as well as waterfalls and cascades in the cordilleras (sása or paccha) are also regarded as haunts or abodes [383] of spirits. The Jibaro Indian, before he drinks natéma or maikoa in the forest, always takes a bath in a sása in the belief that in this way he is brought into more intimate contact with the demons with whom he communicates during the narcotic sleep. The Indians on such occasions generally retire to the forest, just because the ancestral spirits whom they hope to meet in the dream usually dwell in the forest. These spirits are mostly feared in ordinary life, but in dreams, on the contrary, they appear as the friends and advisers of man, as will be seen later on.

Among the Jibaros even a sort of stone-worship exists. Apparently insignificant stones of peculiar shape or colour, or connected with remarkable incidents, are often credited with a mysterious power and raised to the rank of real fetishes. Among these are the 'lightning-stones' by which the Jibaros understand small round black stones which are said to have been hurled down from heaven by a flash of lightning, or more strictly speaking, by those departed Jibaro warriors whose spirits are believed to be

active in thunder and lightning. The supernatural power with which they are endowed is due to their connection with these spirits. Since they proceed from warriors they are especially believed to give success in war. Besides this, when kept for a long time they will have the effect of promoting the growth of the domestic swine and the fowls. This particular belief is closely connected with the worship of the dead, and especially the worship of dead ancestors characteristic of the Jibaros. The Indians appreciate their 'lightning-stones' and all similar fetishes extremely and would not on any account part with them."

"Even an element like fire is supposed to have a soul. 'The fire is a woman', that is, has a female soul or wakáni. Hence the women must tend the fire and perform the most important work done with the aid of the fire, namely, cook the food. Yet the fire is not deified by the Jibaros, and there is no question of a fire-cult.

The animistic philosophy of the Jibaros goes so far as to ascribe wakáni or souls even to objects made by the human hand. Thus utensils and weapons, clay pots and plates, the web and the distaff, needles, knives, lances, blowguns, shields, etc. are endowed with an animating principle. When the Indians are narcotized by natéma or maikoa, the spirits of such implements and weapons appear to them among other demons in the shape of young men. These animistic ideas have a great influence upon the division of labour prevailing among the Jibaros.

From what has been stated above it appears that the supernatural beings appear to the Indians in many different shapes, the demons taking [384] human or animal shape being however perhaps the most feared. These demons move about especially at night, and their favourite dwelling-place is the forest. The Indian therefore fears darkness and he particularly fears to enter the woods, where the iguánchi may meet him in the shape of a jaguar, a venomous snake, or in other terrifying forms. The iguánchi live in the densest thickets of the virgin forest, or sit in the tops of its giant trees. If the tree is beaten with a heavy stick, the demon is supposed to get frightened and to start, and then the whole ground trembles. At times the iguánchi makes something fall down from

the tree which looks like burning copal; but before the burning drops reach the ground they disappear. Any accident or mishap which happens to the Indian whilst wandering in the forest is set down to the evil designs of an iguánchi, or to a malicious sorcerer operating through such a demon. When a fainting-fit or a sudden illness befalls the Indian in the virgin forest--such cases seem to be of comparatively frequent occurrence --this is also imputed to the iguánchi. An Indian thus attacked by the demon gives a shout. If he is sufficiently near the house to be heard, there arises a terrible hubbub. All the people of the house dash out followed by the barking dogs, shouting and screaming loudly and making a noise by beating drums and striking the stems of trees with sticks and pulled-up roots. This is done in order to frighten away the demon. Once, a Jibaro told me, a kinsman of his had been attacked by two iguánchi in the forest and been carried home in a senseless condition. These iguánchi, he added, were two Jibaro men of a well-known family, who had died some time before.

The demons are also believed to carry off people, especially small children, and to take them to their own dwellings in the densest thickets of the forest, where they will remain for ever.

The iguánchi even attacks sick persons while they lie in their beds at home. The demon then appears to the patient especially in a dream, speaking to him and singing a song in seductive strains in order to entice his soul to follow him to his mysterious

habitation in the wood. 'Follow me', he says, 'I have a nice house, and women and dogs and plenty of food and nihamánchi (manioc-beer)!'. He also tries to allure him by the following words:

Tússimie nu, yungangá,
Núkuchie nu, yungangá,
Tússimie nu, núkuchie nu,
yungangá! [385]

This means more or less:

'My little father, come along!
My little mother, come along!
My little father, my little mother,
come along!'

If the sick person in the dream listens to these enticements of the iguánchi, his soul will follow him into the wood, where he will see the house of iguánchi such as the demon has described it. But with this his fate is sealed and he will return to his home and his bed only to die. Everybody that listens to the enticements of iguánchi must die.

The iguánchi, as we have seen, can be frightened away by natural means, as by shouts and making noises. All demons likewise fear the murderous weapon of the Jibaro Indians, the chonta lance, as well as the rattling din of the shields. Action of

this kind occurs as a magical ceremony at the victory-feasts. More than anything else the demons are said to fear rifle-shots."

1: Karsten--386-390 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 774, 825 (1928-29)

"The animistic ideas of the Canelos Indians do not differ essentially from those of the Jibaros. Thus the animal and plant demons and other nature spirits are in the main the same in both tribes. For spirit and demon, the Canelos Indians use the names aya and supai, corresponding to the wakáni and the iguánchi of the Jibaros. Aya thus means 'soul' or 'ghost', and supai 'demon' in the proper sense of the word. But there is no essential difference between the two kinds of spirits. As far as I can see, the animism of the Canelos Indians is also based on the principle of the deification of the dead; all supai are really the spirits of dead persons, especially spirits of departed medicine-men or sorcerers.

The spirits or demons appear to the Canelos Indians partly in human forms, partly in the shape of different animal beings, and are also believed to inhabit plants and inanimate natural objects. They reveal their existence especially by unexpected incidents and by accidents befalling people. The following are the most important supai or demons of these Indians.

One of the most formidable demons is the jaguar demon, puma supai, which may appear in the shape of any beast of the feline family known to the Indians. There are 'natural' jaguars and the demoniacal jaguars, the latter being such as attack man or otherwise harm him. The general idea prevailing among the Canelos Indians is that the souls of the sorcerers have temporarily reincarnated themselves in such beasts--

a belief that seems to be common to all South American Indians. There are different kinds of cat demons corresponding to the different kinds of felidae: Yana huagra puma supai is the cat demon appearing in the shape of the great black jaguar, the largest of the felidae in South America, which was formerly common in the regions round Canelos and greatly feared by natives. Inchic puma supai is the smaller spotted [387] jaguar, still common in the forests of Eastern Ecuador; huituc puma supai (huituc = Genipa americana, which affords the black dye used for body painting), a small tiger-cat with black spots on the fell 'as if painted with huituc'. It causes the Indians considerable loss by killing and eating their fowls.

Since the spirits incarnated in all these beasts are generally souls of medicine-men or sorcerers, they are also believed to inflict evils in a supernatural way and especially to send disease. Hence the different kinds of puma are, among other demons, summoned by the medicine-men when curing bewitched persons.

Not only professional medicine-men but aged persons in general, who are mostly credited with the art of sorcery, are often believed to transform themselves into jaguars both after death and even in their lifetime. Thus at Sarayacu on the Bobonaza I was told about a very old man who was said to change himself occasionally into a jaguar, afterwards again taking human shape. He went into the wood as a man and reappeared as a tiger. His footprints were first seen like those of a man, but farther in the forest they

were changed into the tracks of the beast. Appearing in this shape, he threatened even his nearest relatives and was therefore greatly feared. This story is characteristic of the Indian belief in man-tigers, as it is found in different parts of South America.

The deer (taruga) and the tapir (sacha huagra) were formerly looked upon as demoniacal animals by the Canelos Indians also, and their flesh was not eaten. Nowadays, however, the Indians have given up this superstition and eat the flesh of both these animals. They even have a special liking for the flesh of the deer, because, they say, by eating it they will become swift-footed like that animal.

Huaira supai, 'the wind demon' is a supernatural being resembling a monkey, which is seen flying through the air. He is regarded as the particular demon of disease-bringing winds and is much feared by the Indians.

Yana rumi supai, 'the demon of the black stones', appears to people intoxicated by the narcotic aya huasca as an Indian sitting upon great black stones in the lagoons. A purely mythical being.

Huas runa supai, a white woman-like form which is seen to rise from the water of the lagoons into the air and is believed to send disease. This demon, which is also known under the name yacu supai, ('the water demon'), is therefore summoned by the medicine-men. [388]

Cucha pillan supai, a human-like being which is said to resemble a monk, with

plumes on the head. He is seen near lagoons, but is said to be a harmless being.

Uri-uri supai, a being described as half Indian, half monkey. He is seen near the lagoons in the forest, where he goes about shooting with a blowgun. He sends disease and is therefore invoked by the sorcerers.

Amasánga supai, a demon appearing in the shape of an Indian, who moves about in the wood at night bewitching people; also known under the name sacha runa, 'the man of the wood'. He is said to be a very malicious being and is likewise summoned by the sorcerers.

Huangána supai, the ant-bear. He is said to go about 'blowing a cornet' and bewitching people. An evil demon who is summoned by the sorcerers.

Atacápi or curaga supai, a demon resembling a buck which is seen in the neighbourhood of lagoons and rivers. He is evil and summoned in the conjurations of the sorcerers.

Cahun supai is an animal demon of the size of a dog, entirely black and with a long tail. I am not certain whether it is a real animal or a purely mythical one. Generally two are seen together, 'one leading the other by a liana'. The animal is a supai. When an Indian goes alone in the woods, it attacks him, seizes his leg with its long tail, and takes away his soul. The demon is believed to say to the Indian 'Now I take your soul because of your sins'. The Indian thus caught will die. The Indians therefore never

kill this animal and run away as soon as they see it in the wood.

Among the demons who appear in the shape of reptiles the great water boa or anaconda, amárum supai, is the most important. The Canelos Indians hold exactly the same ideas with regard to this monster as the Jibaros. He is the father of witchcraft and the chief of the demons, and has them all assembled in the river. The amárun supai is especially said to haunt the cataracts and other dangerous places in the rivers where accidents easily occur to the Indians when travelling in canoes. He is also called yacu supai, 'the water demon'. A boa serpent, seen in the neighbourhood of a house, is regarded as the incarnation of a malicious wizard who is trying to carry out his evil designs against the inhabitants. Old men and sorcerers are also believed to reincarnate themselves in boas after death, just as they may transform themselves into tigers. The Indians never touch a dead boa with their hands, lest their body [389] should become scaly like that of the serpent. If they shoot it with a gun, the barrel, according to their idea, will burst, or some other accident will occur. If they shoot it with a poisoned arrow, the arrow-poison will thereafter entirely loose its efficacy. Generally the Indians attack the anaconda with long harpoons of chonta.

Any venomous snake is believed to appear occasionally--that is, when it attacks and does harm to man or domestic animals--as a supai or as the agent of an evil sorcerer. Among these demons there are for instance the rattle snake, mutúlu supai, and the ekis

(Lachesis) called pitalála, the most dangerous venomous snakes in the Ecuadorian forests.

As to bird demons, the same ideas are held as among the Jibaros. Various birds may appear as the agents of the sorcerers, carrying their bewitching arrows (chunta). Such a bird is for instance the tucan, of which family two species are mentioned: sicuánga supai, the ordinary great tucan (called predicador or diostedé in Spanish), the predominant colour of which is white; and yautiri supai, the predominant colour of which is brown. Both these tucans are regarded as evil demons which bewitch people with their large beaks.

When a Jibaro or a Canelos man has to fast on account of the birth of a son, he abstains among other things from eating the tucan, believing that otherwise his newborn babe will be bewitched. Normally the tucan is eaten by the Indians, and its brilliant feathers, to which a magical power is ascribed, are particularly appreciated.

Mucutúlu, a kind of the common bird which in Spanish is called mango, brown in colour, is looked upon with the same superstition as the tucan. It is believed to be sent by the sorcerers and to bring disease and is therefore invoked in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Yahi mangu supai is another kind of mango, black in colour. This bird demon is also invoked by the medicine-men.

Shili-shili supai is a small bird which lives in the neighbourhood of the waterfalls in the forest and is believed to send disease, producing the sound from which it takes its name.

Bullu-cúcu is the onomatopoeic name of another bird, as large as a chicken, which moves about at night bewitching people.

Supai pishcu, 'the devil's bird', is another nocturnal bird living near small lagoons and producing a whistling sound which fills the Indians with superstitious fear. When it moves round the houses at night whistling, it is believed to bewitch the people living there. The Indians, [390]hearing the cry of the supai pishcu, are therefore in the habit of firing shots into the air in order to frighten it away.

Chunta pishcu is a beautiful green bird which is likewise regarded with superstition because of its nocturnal cry. Like other demoniacal birds it is believed to send disease.

The hawk (anga) may be the incarnation of a supai. This demon is especially said to have intercourse with women at night, during sleep. A woman visited by the anga supai is likely to give birth to a supai huahua, a demoniacal child, which is of a grey colour, has the head and the eyes of a hawk, and the legs deformed. Such a monster is generally buried alive.

A black nocturnal bird called tutúlu is also said to make women supernaturally pregnant, to enter the house where it assumes human shape and has intercourse with a woman.

Titipúru supai is a black nocturnal bird resembling a heron and living on the flat banks of the rivers. It is believed to bewitch people with the whistling sound which it produces, and to make them ill.

Acángau supai, the bird which is in Spanish called cacavero, is also occasionally said to send disease.

Even such insignificant birds as the humming-birds may act as the agents of evil-working sorcerers. There are two beautiful humming-birds that are especially mentioned as supai, namely, the rayu kinde supai and the curi kinde supai, which are believed to bewitch people with their long beaks and therefore likewise figure among the demons invoked by the medicine-men.

Poisonous insects are also regarded as demons. Among these the Canelos Indians pay particular attention to the black wasp, the scorpion or uputindi supai, and the black ant (tucandera), called yutúri supai. The poisonous stings of these insects resemble the invisible magic arrows of the sorcerers who also, as we shall see, avail themselves of such creatures when bewitching people."

"We have further to consider the plant demons which are much the same as those of the Jibaros. Of 'sacred' or demoniacal trees the palms are the most important. There are three kinds of demoniacal palms: the cucha chunta (Mauritia) which grows at the margin of lagoons or on marshy ground; the huiriria chunta (Bactris) another kind of wild chonta palm; and the tarpu chunta or cultivated chontaruru palm (Guilielma). To all these the appellation supai is given because of their [391] long thorns which play the main part in the magic art of the medicine-men and sorcerers at Canelos.

The animistic ideas in regard to the garden plants are much the same as among the Jibaros. The Canelos Indians, who are now Christians in name, however, do not believe in an Earth-mother, and although many curious practices are observed at sowing and planting, their agriculture is not nowadays connected with a cult of the plant spirits as among the Jibaros.

Poisonous plants are animated by supai and the efficacy of the arrow-poison, as we have seen, is due to the demons inhabiting the plant from which it is prepared.

The same holds good of the narcotic plants aya huasca (= natéma of the Jibaros), huántuc (= maikoa), and tobacco, which play the same important part in the divination of the Canelos Indians as in that of the Jibaros. The demon of the huántuc plant, huántuc supai, is said to appear to the Canelos medicine-men, narcotized by the drink,

as a little white man in black clothes, who arrives to cure the evils he has inflicted 'smoking a big cigar'."

1: Karsten--391 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 823 (1928-29)

"Certain places and localities are inhabited by supai. The most important and most feared of these are the urcu supai, the demons of the hills, and especially the razu urcu supai, the demons of the snow-clad mountains. All these are inhabited by the spirits of dead sorcerers who have transmigrated into the hills and mountains. They are supposed to send evil disease and are therefore often summoned by the medicine-men when curing patients.

When passing hills on their wanderings the Canelos Indians take care not to make a noise but keep silence; otherwise the demon of the hill will get angry and send heavy rain. The thunder-like booming sometimes heard from within the mountains is called by the same name as one of their principal bird demons, the big macaw, guacamayu. When hunting on hills that they have not visited before, they abstain from shooting with their guns and only use their blowguns. Otherwise they will not be able to kill any game.

There are also spirits in the rivers, and the cataracts are particularly haunted by them. Some of these appear in the shape of animals, as the amárun supai, others, again, in other shapes. In the small waterfalls or cascades, (paccha) in which the eastern cordilleras are so rich, there are paccha supai or sacha supai, 'demons of the woods'. In such paccha the Indians take ceremonial baths."

1: Karsten--392 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 774, 821 (1928-29)

"Of phenomena in the sky the rainbow (cuichi) seems to have particularly attracted the attention of the Canelos Indians. The rainbow, they fancy, is nothing but a huge anaconda (amárun) in the air, or as they generally express it, the rainbow is the 'shadow of the anaconda'. One superstition about this phenomenon is that it makes women pregnant. When the rainbow appears, therefore, the women who are in their menstrual period ought not go out lest an accident of this kind should happen to them. Especially if they are travelling and sleep alone in a hut in the forest, they are exposed to danger from the cuichi supai who has intercourse with them and makes them pregnant, the result of this cohabitation being a supai huahua, a 'demoniacal' child. This superstition in regard to the rainbow also prevails among the Indians of the Napo and is particularly held by the Quichua-speaking mountain Indians."

1: Karsten--393-394 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 761, 774, 754 (1928-29)

"On this point we first notice a striking feature in the psychology of these Indians: they do not know of such a thing as natural death. The Jibaro Indian in his natural state certainly realizes that death is due to the destruction of the body and to the definitive separation between it and the animating principle, the wakáni or soul, but about the causes of this radical change he is not able to form an exact theory. Death is always to him something unintelligible, unnatural and accidental. It must in each particular case have a special cause, or more strictly speaking, it can only be due to the malicious machinations either of another man or of a supernatural being. The young and strong chonta palm does not fall to the ground unless the axe is put to its root, or the violent hurricane breaks its stem, or some other external force causes its destruction. Just as little will a strong, healthy man in his best years die, except at the direct or the indirect instigation of an open or secret enemy. The Indians thus, at least theoretically, seem to acknowledge natural death only for very old persons whose bodily frame falls into decay by virtue of the same natural law as the huge tree of the virgin forest, rotten from age. Practically, however, they seldom or never recognize such cases. It is interesting to note the fact that even with regard to decrepit men nearly a hundred years old, when ultimately they fall ill and die, the usual theory of witchcraft as the immediate [394] cause of the catastrophe is nearly always adhered to, especially when the symptoms answer to the ideas held as to this kind of evil.

A death among the Jibaros, therefore, conveys the same idea as a murder, although the murderer is not necessarily a living man but may also be a supernatural being, a demon. To tell a Jibaro Indian that some time or other he must die, is to his mind extraordinarily tactless; it is almost the same as to tell him that some time or other he will be murdered. This being the case, we can understand how easily any case of sickness or death may lead to an assassination and to endless feuds, the relatives of the deceased regarding it as a sacred duty to wreak vengeance upon the supposed evil-doer."

2: Stirling--115[2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 756, 774

"The practice of shamanism among the Jivaro Indians is basically conditioned by their religious beliefs and conceptions of life and nature. The impersonal magical force which gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants, or natural phenomena is called by the Jivaros tsarutama, more or less the equivalent of the Iroquois orenda, the Siouan wakonda, or the Polynesian mana. Possessing this force or quality are a large group of spirits, usually of an animistic nature, as well as all of the animals and plants which are mentioned in the sacred origin myth. Certain birds, fish, insects, reptiles, and plants contain tsarutama, each of which is responsible for producing certain important effects upon the welfare of man."

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 . SD9 Jivaro SD9

Jivaro Souls

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THE Jivaro people (Untsuri Shuara) of eastern Ecuador have long been famous for their warlike practices,[1] but the assumptions about reality upon which they predicate such behavior have not been systematically studied and analyzed.[2] A very important series of these assumptions is to be found in the Jivaro ideas concerning soul. Among these concepts has recently been discovered a deep-seated belief that killing leads to the acquisition of souls which provide a supernatural power conferring immunity from death. The purpose of the present paper is to outline some of the basic elements of these beliefs with the hope of providing a greater insight into Jivaro behavior.[3]

The emphasis here will be on presenting new data collected in 1956-57,[4] but the concluding paragraphs of the paper embody a commentary on relevant statements in the major publications dealing with this subject. At the outset it should be mentioned that I took the two most useful works on the Jivaro (Karsten 1935; Stirling 1938) into the field and went over them in detail with native informants. Accordingly, points of difference between the following material and that given by Karsten and Stirling should definitely be taken by the reader to indicate modification or refutation of the previously published statements, at least in regard to the Jivaro proper.[5]

Field research providing the present data was conducted for ten and a half months in the following river valleys occupied by the Jivaro: the Rio Upano and its tributaries, the Rio Tutanangoza and the Rio Sepa; the Rio Chiguaza; the Rio Macuma; the Rio Cangaimi; the Rio Cusuimi; the Rio Mangosiza; and in a refugee Jivaro settlement near Bucay on the western slope of the Andes. Informants who contributed particularly to the information embodied in the present paper were: *MukuimpU*, *TsakimpU*, *Utill Ahalu*, *Kugull*, and *Uata Ahalu* of the Rio Tutanangoza; *Walu* of the upper Rio Macuma; and *Hintal* of the Rio Cangaimi. Chief interpreters were *HuugA*, *Tugi*, and *Naita*, all from the Rio Tutanangoza region.

The best information on supernatural concepts was obtained in intensive eight or nine hour daily interviews with single informants over periods of a few days to several weeks. This was an exhausting procedure for all involved: interviewer, interpreter, and informant, but was conducive to the elicitation of truthful detail. Informants' accounts were continually cross-checked and contradictions called to their attention individually. An informant, when thus confronted with a contradiction, and with his reputation for knowledge and veracity at stake, generally provided elaborative supporting detail which he might not have otherwise volunteered.

[2] For explanation of footnotes, see category 116, pp 290-292

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

can be achieved without recourse to the beliefs regarding nunui, witchcraft, or kinship.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. The first type to be described is the *arutam wakanl*. This is an acquired soul and is believed by the Jivaro to be the most important kind. A man may possess up to two arutam souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul. The third to be dealt with is the *nekis* wakanl, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

THE ARUTAM SOUL[5]

Arutam wakanl is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term "arutam" alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. "Wakanl" alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus, the arutam wakanl is the particular kind of soul which produces the arutam or vision. An arutam appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The arutam *soul*, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the arutam soul that the Jivaro seek security from the ever-felt menace of death.

The Jivaro believe that the possessor of a single arutam soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, nor by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox.[6] In other words, a person who has even only one arutam soul in his possession is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jivaro who is fortunate enough to possess two arutam souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an arutam soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain arutam souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an arutam soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall of his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water,[7] and await the appearance of an arutam to the vision-seeker. They may keep up this fasting for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make an attempt again at a later date.

If the arutam seeker is fortunate, however, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind telling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the arutam. Shortly the arutam appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common arutam include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision-seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the arutam seeker. When the apparition arrives to within 20 or 30 feet, the Jivaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the arutam instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[8]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an arutam, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same arutam he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream-visitor is in the form of an old Jivaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have killed many times, so will you." Without another word, the old man disappears and immediately the arutam soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in the chest.

Upon acquiring this arutam soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The arutam soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most importantly it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an arutam soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with greater forcefulness.[9] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an arutam soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill. If the person is past puberty, it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins or organizes a killing expedition. The rare women who possess arutam souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jivaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of arutam they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers who then ask each man in turn to describe the arutam that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his arutam leaves his body forever, to roam again the forest as a wind, for arutam souls "are satisfied with one killing."[10] The departing arutam souls reportedly

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jívaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an arutam soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his arutam soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new arutam upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new arutam souls, and without new arutam souls they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an arutam again and to get himself a new soul.

The acquisition of such a new arutam soul not only brings the new power or kakarma of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to the possession of not more than two arutam *souls* simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative.

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old arutam souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same arutam soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jívaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

Since a man with an arutam soul cannot die as the result of physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interpersonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his arutam soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *nalem A* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor."

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[12] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own* arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

[774] [775] future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[13]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[14] If one simply dies of contagious disease [761] or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

[682] The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill [589] instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

[727] Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three [776] types of *iwančI* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-[761] human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous [825] snake (*makančI*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*payi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause [829] him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society which might be called "accidental" in other [777] cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of [412] firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items [752] to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight self-inflicted [761] wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

776 787 [411] Before the avenging spirit or iwančI kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this iwančI fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the tsantsa feasts. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the muisak concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the shrunken head or tsantsa is a direct effort to thwart the muisak in its mission of vengeance.[15] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of head-shrinking forces the muisak, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical one that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its tsantsa(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the final steps in the processing of the shrunken head before arrival home is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the muisak cannot see out," thereby making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the tsantsa.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the tsantsa is held immediately. This feast is later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the muisak might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically-binding ritual to slip from the head trophy to cause a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the muisak will be kept inside of the tsantsa until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The tsantsa is customarily later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the muisak to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands it over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the tsantsa feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants had been concerned with utilizing the power of the muisak as well as containing it. As in the case of the arutam

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nëkás wakanI, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[10]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jívaro.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[17] The Jívaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*Juar* iwančI). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jívaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jívaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jívaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampaŋ*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the wampaŋ are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as is the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a wampaŋ flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the wampaŋ might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the wampaŋ finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the nëkás wakanI, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the arutam soul instead which seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The arutam soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly-desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal sorcery, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the arutam soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The arutam soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; nonshamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally-acquired impersonal power, kakarma, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian mana.

The concept of the muisak furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. In conclusion, one may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in real life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the muisak and the arutam soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

A COMMENTARY ON PREVIOUS REPORTS

A few brief comments seem to be due the reader to clarify the differences between the statements presented here and those of Karsten and Stirling, the chief contributors to the literature on the Jívaro proper. The souls will be considered here in the same order as in the preceding body of the paper, with the arutam soul first.

The "arutam" dealt with here is the "*arutama*" of Karsten (1935:448–51) and the "*tsarutama*" of Stirling (1938:115, 116). Karsten's term is a corruption of "arutam," found in a trade language used between the Jívaro and the Ecuadorian mestizos living in the village of Macas. As Karsten (1954:25) has already pointed out, Stirling's term does not exist in the Jívaro dialect.

Karsten (1954:25) has stated, "The word *aruta* or *arutam* in the Jíbaro language means 'old'; as a religious term *arutama* may be translated into 'The Old Ones.' . . ." Actually, however, while both words do have the same root, and *arutA* does indeed mean "old" or "used," the term "arutam" refers exclusively to the special vision which I have termed "ancient specter." My informants assured me that it does not mean "old ones." Also an arutam, however frightening it may appear, never kills anyone, despite a statement to the contrary by Karsten (1935:450). Although Karsten (1935:448–50) had some of the visions described to him, he was unaware of the souls responsible for them and the related system of belief.

While Stirling (1938:115) recognizes a similarity between his "*tsarutama*" (arutam) and concepts of the mana type in other cultures, he is misleading in stating that "tsarutama" is the force itself or that "it gives supernatural properties to certain classes of animals, plants or natural phenomena." When an arutam appears to a Jívaro, it is actually recognized to be a vision, distinct from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

from natural forms of life or other natural phenomena. Stirling (1938:116) also errs in stating that "All of the principal nature gods . . . contain powerful *tsarutama*." In fact, it is highly questionable whether there are any supernatural figures whom the Jívaro could be said to view as gods. Stirling's candidates for gods are primarily "Piribri, the Rain God," and "Pangi, the great anaconda River God." Any such deities are not part of the supernaturalism of the Jívaro proper. Karsten (1954:26) has already taken note of this situation, saying, "But the Jíbaros have no belief in a personal Raingod Piribri." Actually, *pirípiri* is the correct term and refers to a plant which the Jívaro use magically to cause rain to swell the rivers so that their enemies cannot cross successfully. But it is not a god. The actual supernatural role of "Pangi" (*paŋi*) is not significantly greater than has been indicated in the preceding descriptions of the arutam and muisak souls. Karsten (1954:31) is also correct in rejecting a claim for a Jívaro deity named "Cumbanama" (see Steward and Metraux 1948:626), a claim simply deriving from a casual statement by an early traveler in the Jívaro country. While on the subject of supposed Jívaro gods, it might as well be mentioned that Karsten's (1935:125-26) candidate for an "Earth-mother" goddess really refers to a class of female spirits (*nuŋui*) which can probably be best defined as crop fairies. She (or really, they) also has no husband, despite such a claim by Karsten (1935:379).

In regards to the muisak, Karsten (1935:430) was aware of the potentially harmful nature of the spirit of a slain enemy, but does not report some of the major beliefs surrounding it, nor is he apparently cognizant of this term for the avenging spirit while it resides in the tsantsa. He (1954:21) is wrong when he states that the sloth shrunken head is not called "tsantsa." Nor can I agree with him when he says (1954:16): " . . . I have indicated the real purpose of the tsantsa, and in my statements, founded on personal observations and most careful inquiries, there is nothing to add and nothing to correct."

Stirling does not mention an avenging soul or spirit. While he notes (1935:74) that the tsantsa possesses magical power, he incorrectly identifies such power as "tsarutama," when it is really power emanating from the muisak.

Karsten fails to distinguish the nëkás wakanI and thus, since he uses the term wakanI alone, it is difficult to tell when his remarks apply to this particular soul. He is definitely wrong in his statement (1935:372) that: " . . . animals, plants and inanimate objects . . . seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls." What is fact is that no plants or inanimate objects are believed to *be* souls (although a few specific plants *have* souls) and only a few animals (e.g., deer, owls) are believed to be such. All other creatures with blood are thought to *have* some kind of true soul. Stirling never mentions wakanI.

To the reader who wonders whether some of these conflicts are due to culture change during the intervals between fieldwork by the different investigators, I submit the fact that several of my most important informants were already raising families prior to Karsten's initial Jívaro fieldwork in

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ŋ English *ng* in sing (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, labialized when preceding *ë*; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
š English *sh*
ts English *ts* in cats
t Spanish *t* (voiced like Spanish *d* when following a nasal consonant; palatized when following *ë* or *i* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *i*)
y Spanish *y*

Unvoiced vowels (restricted to ultimate syllables) are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

[2] A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

[3] The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley; by the American Museum of National History; and by the American Anthropological Association (SKF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

[4] I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous fieldworkers. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

[5] Arutam may also be pronounced *arutma*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Turner (1958) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

[6] Jivaro faith in the existence of arutam souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

[7] One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *maikua* (*Datura* sp.) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen arutam and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from maikua in order to be able to restrain and protect the delirious person under its influence.

[8] One exception is the fireball arutam which only vanishes silently when touched.

[9] Persons who have seen arutam can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

[10] There is also a rare super arutam, *awasag*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

[11] The arutam soul resident in the body of a person is *not* his *own* soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

[12] Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the near shouting which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to advertise his arutam power by being forceful in speech and gestures.

[13] Muisak may be alternatively pronounced *muiska*.

[14] When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the victim's muisak is delayed in emerging through the mouth. Thus the murderer hopes to reach home before the avenging soul can catch him.

[15] A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the taki... surrounding the tsantsa. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicates rejection of that material.

[16] The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house locations along with their gardens.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

crossbar, and the mother squats on it with her arms hanging over the bar. Two persons assist her, ideally her husband and her mother. One holds her arms down over the crossbar and the other gets behind her and helps to work the baby down and out to fall on the banana leaf. If it is raining, the birth takes place in the house, but the garden is otherwise preferred by the mother for privacy, because she is "embarrassed."

No couvade is observed by the new father. Rather, he can go forth daily to hunt game and, if he has no other wife, he takes on the responsibility of fetching water, digging up the manioc in the garden, washing it in the stream, and carrying it into the house. There it is cooked by his recuperating wife, who is not supposed to undertake other household or garden tasks for about two weeks. If she should fail to rest adequately for such a period, it is believed that she will be bedridden for a long time, due to becoming sick from "handling cold water," such as when washing the manioc. In order to protect the health of the baby, both parents observe certain dietary restrictions, such as avoiding eating any birds that forage close to the ground, or consuming the entrails of any animal. It is also believed that if either parent engages in extramarital sexual relations during the child's infancy, the infant will die, vomiting.

When the baby is a few days old, it is given a mild hallucinogenic drug, *tsentsemä* (botanically unidentified). The uncooked leaf of this plant, which can be used by persons of all ages, is masticated and fed to the infant, whether male or female. The purpose of the administration of this hallucinogen is to help the baby possibly to see *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and thus get supernatural power to help its survival. If the baby becomes sick, the drug may be given again.

The child is given a name within a few days after being

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ping a large quantity of hot peppers into a small fire and forcing the child to remain over the fire under a large cloth until he becomes unconscious. When he recovers, he may be admonished that if he again misbehaves, he will have all his hair burned off. However, this threat apparently is never carried out.

A much more subtle method of disciplining children consists of administering the juice of the *maikua* (*Datura arborea*) plant to them. This action is usually taken when a child is disrespectful of his father and calls into question his knowledge and authority. As one informant put it, "Only some sons obey their fathers. Some say, 'The old man is very old—he doesn't know what he is talking about.' It was like this in the oldtime, too." The administration of this particularly strong hallucinogenic extract is designed to put him into a trance state to see the supernatural world. It is believed that there he will discover that many of the claims the father has been making about the nature of reality are true and he will be less disrespectful. In addition, the hallucinogenic experience may put him in contact with an *arutam* (see pp. 135–43), and this also is seen as a possible bonus for the development of his character. This is a culture where a parent may threaten to give a child a hallucinogenic drug if it misbehaves.

The use of hallucinogens in child-rearing is by no means restricted to disciplinary problems. As has been noted earlier, the relatively mild *tsentsemä* is given to a new-born infant. If the child is female, *tsentsemä* is again administered, with a little tobacco water, when she is between about two and eight years old. Her parents hope she may acquire *arutam* soul power and thus be able, when she grows older, to work hard and have success in reproducing children, raising crops, chickens, and pigs. She is administered the drug within the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

context of a four-day feast and dance, *uči auk* ("child swallowing"), in which approximately half a dozen such girls participate together. Prior to the event the girls observe dietary restrictions for about a week, not eating the meat of any mammals or birds. The ceremonies take place in and near the house of the host, a father of one of the girls. On the first day the girls dance until midafternoon. Then they are given *tsentsemä* and are taken at nightfall to palm thatch lean-to's in the adjacent forest, where they will lie down to have visions and dreams of bountiful crops, chickens, and pigs. Meanwhile, the adults dance and drink in the house until dawn. The same procedure is repeated for three additional nights.

The most important use of hallucinogens in child-rearing, from the Jívaro point of view, is to assist a boy in seeing an *arutam* at a sacred waterfall, since his life is believed to depend upon it. This will be discussed in detail later (see pp. 135–39). Of all a boy's childhood experiences, nothing is considered to compare in importance with the experience. The power deriving from the acquired *arutam* soul is seen in Jívaro terms as an enculturating and socializing device, since its force is believed to promote almost all the valued aspects of character, including honesty, inclination to work, and intelligence; as well as to increase the actual knowledge of the child.

Training in work and skills conforms to the adult sexual division of labor. A girl from about the age of four to six is not expected to do much more than care for the baby, if any, while the mother is working in the garden or preparing beer in the house. She is instructed, among other things, to keep the infant from eating dirt and from being bitten by ants, and to rock it in its hammock. She is also supposed to sweep the house floor at least daily and throw out the accumulation of refuse.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

The outstanding killer gains prestige and social obligations by helping the people of his locality in eliminating their enemies. Such a man is known as *kakaram* ("powerful" or "powerful one") and also, if he is not too youthful, as *untä*. He is believed to possess an unusually large quantity of *arutam* soul power (see pp. 135–43) (*kakarma*), which both protects him from death and is believed to drive him on to kill as often as possible.[3]

The majority of young men interviewed expressed a strong desire to kill, not only to avenge the deaths of their fathers and other close relatives, but to acquire the *arutam* soul power and to become known, respected, and feared as *kakaram*. To be acknowledged as a *kakaram*, a man must have killed at least several persons. Early in his career, he does this by going on killing expeditions led by others, whether intra-tribal assassinations or the inter-tribal raids for *tsantsa*. As his reputation increases, he will eventually successfully organize and lead such an expedition himself, usually the more modest local assassination raid, probably against a specific personal enemy who is believed to have, sometime earlier, caused the death of a member of his immediate family. If he acquits himself well in achieving this assassination, especially as evidenced by firing the first shot into the victim, word will rapidly spread of his apparent power. Soon he will be approached by other men to lead them in killing expeditions against their own enemies. The *kakaram*, anxious to further his reputation as well as to gain additional supernatural power through more killing, rarely refuses such a request, even though it often means that he is agreeing to kill a fellow tribesman who is not even an enemy of his.

As his reputation grows, the *kakaram* tends to dress himself in elaborate feather headdresses and ornaments when visiting other households or receiving guests (see frontispiece).

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ural plane. Finally, entrance into the normally invisible realm is considered so essential to success that the two kinds of leaders in Jívaro society, the outstanding killers (*kakaram*) and shamans, are the two types of persons for whom hallucinogenic drugs tend to have the most important role. Their achievements are believed by the Jívaro to be directly connected to their ability to enter, and utilize the souls and spirits of, that "real" world.

Three kinds of souls are recognized. Of these, the *arutam wakani* is believed by the Jívaro to be the most significant. This is an acquired soul, and a man may possess as many as two *arutam* souls at one time. The second type of soul is the *muisak*, or avenging soul, while the third is the *nekás wakani*, the "true," "real," or "ordinary" soul.

The Arutam *Soul*[1]

Arutam wakani is perhaps best referred to as the "ancient specter" soul. The term *arutam* alone refers to a particular kind of vision or apparition. *Wakani* alone simply means "soul" or "spirit." Thus the *arutam wakani* is the particular kind of soul that produces the *arutam*, or vision. An *arutam* appears only occasionally and, when it does, is only in existence for less than a minute. The *arutam* soul, on the other hand, exists eternally once it has been created. It is in the system of thought regarding the *arutam* soul that the Jívaro seek security from the ever felt menace of death.

The Jívaro believe that the possessor of a single *arutam* soul cannot be killed by any form of physical violence, poison, or by sorcery, although he is not immune to death from contagious diseases such as measles and smallpox. In other words, a person who has only one *arutam* soul in his posses-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

sion is relieved from daily anxiety about being murdered. A Jívaro who is fortunate enough to possess two *arutam* souls cannot die of *any* cause whatever, including contagious disease.

A person is not born with an *arutam* soul. Such a soul must be acquired, and in certain traditional ways. The acquisition of this type of soul is considered to be so important to an adult male's survival that a boy's parents do not expect him to live past puberty without one. Women sometimes obtain *arutam* souls, but it is not considered so essential for them. One reason is that intra-tribal killing, the most common source of violent death, is primarily directed at adult males rather than at women and children.

A boy begins seeking an *arutam* soul at about the age of six years. Accompanied most commonly by his father, he makes a pilgrimage to the sacred waterfall in his neighborhood. This is always the highest waterfall within a few days' travel. It is believed to be the rendezvous of these souls or spirits which wander about as breezes, scattering the spray of the long cascade. During the day, the vision seekers "bathe" in the waterfall by striding back and forth under its cold and drenching canopy, actually walking between the downpour and the cliff from which it is dropping. They walk naked and shivering, and in some danger from falling logs which may be swept over the cliff with the current. Each paces with the aid of a magical balsa wood staff carved for the occasion, and chants, "*tau, tau, tau,*" continually. By night the pilgrims sleep near the falls in a simple lean-to. Here they fast, drink tobacco water (made by steeping green tobacco leaves in cold water), and await the appearance of an *arutam*.

They may keep up this fasting, "bathing," and tobacco water drinking for as long as five days. If unsuccessful, they return home to make another attempt at a later date. More

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

possibly falling off a cliff or into a river and drowning. The other pilgrims in the party do not take the substance themselves, partially so that they can protect the *maikua* drinker from running off. They also believe that an *arutam* is not likely to come to a vision seeker if he is a coward, which would be evidenced if he were unwilling to take *Datura* alone and enter the normally invisible world unaccompanied.

If the *arutam* seeker is fortunate, he will awaken at about midnight to find the stars gone from the sky, the earth trembling, and a great wind felling the trees of the forest amid thunder and lightning. To keep from being blown down, he grasps a tree trunk and awaits the *arutam*. Shortly the *arutam* appears from the depths of the forest, often in the form of a pair of large creatures. The particular animal forms can vary considerably, but some of the most common *arutam* include a pair of giant jaguars fighting one another as they roll over and over towards the vision seeker, or two anacondas doing the same. Often the vision may simply be a single huge disembodied human head or a ball of fire drifting through the forest towards the *arutam* seeker. When the apparition arrives to within twenty or thirty feet, the Jívaro must run forward and touch it, either with a small stick or his hand. This is said to require a good deal of courage, and sometimes the person flees the *arutam* instead. But if he does run forward and touch the vision, it instantly explodes like dynamite and disappears.[4]

Upon thus achieving success in encountering an *arutam*, the person returns to his house, but tells no one that he has accomplished the purpose of his quest. Arriving home, he goes alone to sleep that night on the bank of the nearest river. After nightfall, the soul of the same *arutam* he touched comes to him as he dreams. His dream visitor is in the form of an old Jívaro man who says to him, "I am your ancestor. Just as I have lived a long time, so will you. Just as I have

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

killed many times, so will you." Without another word the old man disappears and immediately the *arutam* soul of this unknown ancestor enters the body of the dreamer, where it is lodged in his chest.

Upon acquiring this *arutam* soul, the person feels a sudden power surge into his body, accompanied by a new self-confidence. The *arutam* soul is supposed to increase a person's power in the most general sense. This power, called *kakarma*, is believed to increase one's intelligence as well as simple physical strength, and also to make it difficult for the soul possessor to lie or commit other dishonorable acts. His newly acquired power increases his resistance to contagious disease to some degree, but most important, it makes it impossible for him to die as a result of any physical violence or sorcery. Most of his relatives and acquaintances shortly know that he has acquired an *arutam* soul simply because of the change in his personality. For example, he especially tends to speak with great forcefulness.[8] However, he must not tell anyone that he has acquired such a soul, or it will desert him.

When one has thus obtained an *arutam* soul, he generally is seized with a tremendous desire to kill, and it is ordinarily only a matter of a few months before he joins a killing expedition. If he is a young boy, he will accompany his father. The rare women who possess *arutam* souls kill primarily by means of poisoning food or manioc beer.

Jívaro killing expeditions usually attack the victim's house just before dawn. Late in the afternoon of the day prior to the attack, the expedition halts in the forest about a quarter of a mile from its intended objective. There, in their concealed location, the participants must "declare" what kind of *arutam* they had each seen. The younger men form a circle around several of the most experienced killers, who then ask

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

each man in turn to describe the *arutam* that he had seen. As each man, young and old, does this, the soul of his *arutam* leaves his body forever, to roam the forest again as a wind, for *arutam* souls "are satisfied with one killing."[9] The departing *arutam* souls reportedly generate winds, thunder, and lightning. Eventually, at some time in the indefinite future, each soul is expected once more to enter the body of another Jivaro.

The warriors, having made their declarations, are ready to attack the following morning. Although each of them has just lost an *arutam* soul, the power of that soul remains in the body, only ebbing away gradually. The complete loss of this power is generally believed to take about two weeks. Since the power decreases slowly, the members of the killing party still retain enough of it the next morning so that they cannot be killed by the enemy in battle. If one of their number *is* killed in the attack, the other members of the expedition simply consider the death to be evidence that the deceased had already lost his *arutam* soul without realizing it. As soon as the expedition kills its intended victim, all its members again become entitled to obtain the soul of a new *arutam* upon their return home.

Sometimes the attackers fail in their assault on the intended victim's house. When such a failure occurs, the expedition must immediately choose a new victim and go after him at once, usually without returning home. If these men failed to kill someone, they would not be entitled to obtain new *arutam* souls, and without new *arutam* souls, they would expect to die within weeks or, at the most, months. Since it is therefore a matter of life or death to them, the members of the killing party invariably find an enemy, or at least some stranger, to assassinate. When the killing is accomplished, they return home and each immediately seeks to encounter an *arutam* again and thus to get himself a new soul.

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 The acquisition of such a new *arutam* soul not only brings
778 the new power, or *kakarma*, of the incoming soul but also serves to "lock in" the power of the previous one and thereby prevent it from ebbing away from the body. A person is limited to possession of not more than two *arutam* souls simultaneously, but this "lock-in" feature of the new soul makes it possible for a person to accumulate the *power* of an indefinite number of previous souls. In other words, while the acquisition of the souls is consecutive, the acquisition of the power is cumulative:

By repeatedly killing, one can continually accumulate power through the replacement of old *arutam* souls with new ones. This "trade-in" mechanism is an important feature because, when a person has had the same *arutam* soul for four or five years, it tends to leave its sleeping possessor to wander
[754] nightly through the forest. Sooner or later, while it is thus drifting through the trees, another Jivaro will "steal" it. Accordingly, it is highly desirable to obtain a new soul before
[721] the old one begins nocturnal wanderings. This felt need encourages the individual to participate in a killing expedition every few years.

754 Since a man with an *arutam* soul cannot die as the result of
774 physical violence, poisoning, or witchcraft, i.e., any interper-
721 sonal attack, a person who wishes to kill a specific enemy attempts to steal his *arutam* soul away from him as a prelude to assassinating him. This soul-stealing or capturing process involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *natema*, beating a hollowed-out log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's *arutam* soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[7]

774 The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus
721

34:Harner E-4.5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

definitely—stolen the *arutam* soul of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his *arutam* soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the first-hand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[8] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his *arutam* soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jívaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called a *kakaram*, or "powerful one," is rarely attacked, because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second *arutam* souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the *arutam* soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an *arutam* in the darkness. *Arutam* may also be encountered by making a small clearing on a forest mountain top, building a lean-to, and drinking *Datura* there.

Shamans always possess *arutam* souls. Those specializing in betwitching try to steal their intended victim's *arutam* soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is thought to have two *arutam* souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. It is believed that shamans, under the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

774 754 756 influence of *natemä*, can sometimes see a person's *arutam* soul in his chest, where it appears as an inverted rainbow. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his *arutam* soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

774 761 [763] The *arutam* soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the *arutam* souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his *own arutam* souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five *arutam* souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new ones. The formation [821] of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly created *arutam* souls of the dead men will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of future generations of Jívaro. At the same moment that these *arutam* souls are "born," the second type of Jívaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

The Muisak[9]

774 784 The second kind of soul, the *muisak*, or avenging soul, is closely connected with the *arutam* soul. Only a person who has had an *arutam* soul is capable of forming a *muisak*. Furthermore, a *muisak* comes into existence only when a person who has seen an *arutam* is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. When such a person is murdered, his aveng-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

ing soul is created and leaves his corpse through the mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed by the Jívaro to be a rare occurrence), no *muisak* is created.

The sole reason for existence of a person's *muisak* is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an *arutam* soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The *muisak* is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much *arutam* power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a *muisak* while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (*tsantsa*), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the *muisak* is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of the three types of *iwanči*, or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*makanči*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*paṇi*), which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest, which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jívaro society that might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a *muisak* can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jívaro view slight, self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Before the avenging spirit, or *iwanči*, kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanči* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in a dream to a relative of the victim. In this dream the avenging soul has a human form. Around its neck hangs the shrunken head trophy worn by a killer in the *tsantsa* feast. The demon tells the dreamer, "I have killed an enemy. Now I am going far away, where my relatives are. I am going far away to have a feast with them." The demon disappears and, since it never kills more than a single person, will never murder again.

The widely publicized practice of the Jívaro in shrinking human heads can be well understood only with a knowledge of the *nuisak* concept. A major part of the belief and ritual associated with the *tsantsa* is a direct effort to thwart the *nuisak* in its mission of vengeance.[11] The Jívaro believe that the completion of the process of headshrinking forces the *nuisak*, hovering alongside the retreating war expedition, to enter the head trophy. For this reason, as well as the practical ones that the head would decay if not processed in some way and that the removal of the skull and its contents makes the trophy much lighter to carry on the mountainous trails, the expedition prepares its *tsantsa*(s) as quickly as possible while fleeing the enemy territory. One of the steps in the processing of the shrunken head is to rub charcoal into its skin "so that the *nuisak* cannot see out," thereby

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

making it difficult for the avenging soul to plan an "accidental" death in the vicinity of the *tsantsa*.

When the expedition arrives in its home territory, the first feast of the *tsantsa* is held immediately, later followed by at least one and sometimes two others. At all these feasts or dances great care is taken to prevent arguments and fights between the inebriated celebrants out of fear that the *muisak* might take advantage of such an interruption of the magically binding ritual and slip from the head trophy, causing a quarrel to result in a murder. If the feasts are conducted properly, however, the *muisak* will be kept inside of the *tsantsa* until the end of the last feast. At that time, the celebrants expel it from the head trophy and send it back to its neighborhood of origin. This neighborhood is typically at a considerable distance, because head trophies are normally taken only of members of other tribes. As part of this final ritual the women sing:

> Now, now, go back to your house where you lived.
> Your wife is there calling you from your house.
> You have come here to make us happy.
> Finally we have finished.
> So return.

The *tsantsa* is commonly later sold by the head-taker (although illegally in terms of Ecuadorian law) to a mestizo in one of the communities on the western periphery of the tribal territory. At that time, the head-taker silently repeats the exhortation to the *muisak* to return to its distant neighborhood as he hands the *tsantsa* over to the trader. The head-taker goes through this act just in case there is a possibility that the ritual in the *tsantsa* feast did not succeed in its purpose.

During the three feasts the celebrants are concerned with utilizing the power of the *muisak* as well as containing it. As

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

• 774 in the case of the *arutam* soul, the *muisak* emits power, but it
778 is believed that the *muisak*'s power is directly transmissible to
765 other persons. The man who took the head holds the *tsantsa*
789 aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he
796 wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to
[562] him. In this manner the power of the *muisak* is believed to be transmitted to the women, who, ordinarily, lack power-giving *arutam* souls. This power, transmitted from the *muisak* to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which are primarily the responsibilities of women in Jívaro society.

765 In addition to the regular head trophy obtained through
628 inter-tribal raiding, there is another kind of *tsantsa* which
727 may, on rare occasions, be made of an *untsuri šuarä* intra-
721 tribal assassination victim, provided he belongs to a neighbor-hood which is consistently hostile to, or very distant from, one's own. To make this *tsantsa*, the killer simply pulls out some of the victim's hair from his head, rather than decapitat-
[532] ing him. The hair is loose, not in the form of a scalp, and is then stuck with beeswax onto the top of a tree gourd which has had the bottom cut off. The beeswax, which is naturally black, is also used to model eyes, a nose and mouth, and ears on the surface of the calabash. Chonta palm splinters are put through the beeswax lips and a doubled *kumaí* bark string is inserted through a hole in the top of the gourd so that the killer may carry it hanging from his neck.

[774] This trophy is used for the regular three feasts, it being
[796] believed that the dead enemy's *muisak* is in it because his hair is there. The advantage of this kind of *tsantsa*, according to informants, is that they can make it without getting the blood of members of their own tribe on themselves. It is

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

recognized that making a full-fledged *tsantsa* would be more insulting to the victim's relatives and neighbors and thus more likely to bring large-scale retaliation. Because of the same fear of serious retribution, heads almost never seem to be taken of whites, but several instances are known in which the "hair" *tsantsa* was made from white victims. The Jívaro are frankly uncertain, however, whether whites have *arutam* souls and *muisak*, and it appears that their primary motivation in such cases is to celebrate the killing of whites.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only non-human creature thought to be capable of forming a *muisak*. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an *arutam* soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves in such a slow manner, it is further believed to have lost its former *arutam* soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The feasting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human *tsantsa* but generally somewhat less extensive. The *muisak* of the sloth is believed capable of becoming only a single avenging form, a falling tree.

Sometimes a man who has personally killed someone on an inter-tribal raid has been unable to remove his victim's head before retreating. Under such circumstances, the killer cannot be a full, dancing participant in the first *tsantsa* celebration, but can borrow a *tsantsa* from someone who killed on a previous raid in order to host the two subsequent feasts. Through ritual procedure, the *muisak* of the new victim is believed to be made to enter the old *tsantsa*, and these two *tsantsa* celebrations are called "demon feasts" (*iwanči nam-per*) in recognition of the presence of the avenging soul of the victim even though a substitute head is being used. Occasionally, a tree sloth *tsantsa* may be used to perform the

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsantsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

• 774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the ***nekás wakani***, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every [826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jívaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampay*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampay* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *wampay* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jívaro believe that since the *wampay* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jívaro are uncertain, the *wampay* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jívaro believe, they seem to be least interested in the "true" one, the *nekás wakani*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul instead that seems to rank first in the Jívaro mind. The *arutam* soul possessor believes himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and witchcraft, both real and

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

The *arutam* soul belief system contains a number of significant supernatural traits organized together into one internally logical complex. In this system the central idea of immunity from death is combined with such anthropologically well-known concepts as: a vision quest; a guardian spirit; eternal and multiple souls; a variety of generalized ancestor worship; reincarnation; soul-loss; soul-capture; non-shamanistic spirit possession; and a concept of personally acquired impersonal power, *kakarma*, which resembles, but is not precisely identical to, the Oceanian *mana*.

The concept of the *muisak* furnishes the rationale for head-taking and shrinking, as well as explaining as supernatural murders those deaths which in many other cultures would be ascribed to accidental causes. One may observe that the Jívaro are so preoccupied with killing in physical life that it seems only consistent that their two most emphasized types of souls, the *muisak* and the *arutam* soul, are supernatural devices, respectively, for murdering and avoiding being murdered. Beyond this, it is clear that these internally coherent and complex bodies of belief are an important part of the Jívaro view of reality and, as such, affect their overt behavior.

Shamanism and Illness

The Jívaro believe that witchcraft is the cause of the vast majority of illnesses and non-violent deaths. Practically the only diseases not attributed to witchcraft are "white man's diseases" (*suŋurä*), normally of an epidemic nature,

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

and two black streaks are painted under his eyes. The body is wrapped in a woman's dress, the largest cloth available. A palm-wood fighting lance is laid parallel to his body on the surface of the ground, and on the ground adjacent to the burial is placed the man's round stool. From a house beam overhead is suspended his monkey skin traveling bag containing his combs, ornamental earsticks, and knife or machete blade fragment.

If the deceased male still had a *tsantsa* in his possession, it is interred with him, under his back. Conversely, if he himself was the victim of a head-taking raid, his corpse is buried in the usual way.

A woman is buried in her finest dress and wearing her snail shell dance belt, glass bead necklaces, toucan feather earrings, and an ornamental stick in her lower lip. Her pottery-making tools and beer strainer are placed on the ground near her head, and one of her carrying baskets, containing personal effects, such as her comb and perfume bundle, is hung from a house beam above.

A large basket of cooked manioc and meat is left hanging above the head of the deceased, whether male or female, and a bowl of manioc beer is placed on the ground. The food and beer are replaced daily for about a week, after which it is believed that the *nekás wakanī*, the true soul, has normally departed. However, if one of the survivors subsequently has a bad dream in which the deceased appears and complains of not being fed, the food and beer containers are hastily replenished.

Occasionally, an elderly, outstanding *untä* with renown as a killer may, on his deathbed, advise one or more sons that he wants them each to acquire one of his own *arutam* souls, which form at his death. When he dies, his corpse is entombed in a special way. It is seated on his round stool, leaning

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

against the center post in the men's end of the abandoned house, facing the doorway. A chonta palm stave stockade is erected all around the body, about one foot from it. A small opening is made in the front of the stockade through which is inserted the magical balsa wood staff the deceased used in bathing at the sacred waterfall. The staff touches a bare spot, left uncovered, on the chest of the corpse and extends horizontally out through the barrier.

In the adjacent forest, the sons build small lean-to's, each about 300 yards away in the four cardinal directions. Each night a son can come to the abandoned house to seek an *arutam* soul created by the dead father which, hopefully, is wandering in the vicinity. The seeker must come alone, without a copal torch, and in the utter darkness of the house touch the magical staff, follow it with his hand until he contacts the dead man's chest, and say, "I am your son, Father." He then goes out of the house to the north lean-to where he drinks tobacco water (nothing stronger is used) and awaits an *arutam* for about two hours. If none appears, he returns to the house, repeats the ritual and goes to the south lean-to, where he takes more tobacco water. The same procedure is repeated for the east and west lean-to's, dawn finding the *arutam* seeker at the last place unless he has already been successful.

On the subsequent night, another son, or even a son-in-law of the deceased, may visit the corpse, explain his kin relationship and attempt to see an *arutam*. According to several accounts, the vision is often seen not only in the lean-to's, but in the house, where the *arutam* souls are believed to come back to visit. Usually the corpse is left in this upright position only two days and then buried in the usual manner, although there are cases where it has been left longer.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

the house, the soiled spot to be dug up and removed the next day.

The initiation of a feud does not formally occur until one of the parties sends the message to the other, "Let us fight with guns. . . ." Such a message is sent normally after the two parties have (or are alleged to have) each poisoned or bewitched one of the opposite group or to have stolen a wife from it. The first party to have allegedly poisoned, bewitched, or to have stolen a wife, then sends the formal invitation to have recourse to guns. Such an invitation is unnecessary in cases where homicides have already been effected by force of arms. This invitation is not a warning of an attack, since generally three to five years then pass before the assassination attempt actually occurs. Rather, it is a public statement of the legal justification for an attack at some future time. The actual assassination raid itself, when it does occur, is conducted in the utmost secrecy.

In view of the emotional intensity of the feuding, it is not surprising that when a man "no longer wants to live," he does not commit suicide in the ordinary sense, but rather suddenly starts leading assassination raids against the men who are his enemies, insisting on taking the principal risks, such as being the first to charge into the enemy's house. Sooner or later, of course, he will himself be killed, which apparently surprises no one, since his self-destructive bent is seen as evidence that he no longer possesses an *arutam* soul. That this kind of "suicide" appeals to Jívaro men is indicated by the fact that while cases of it are fairly well known, not a single one could be found of self-inflicted suicide by a male. In contrast, self-inflicted suicide by women, mainly by hanging from a house beam, is relatively common. Acts of suicide by women occurred, according to informants of both sexes, when they were consistently treated badly and beaten by their

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

additives) for no more than about half an hour (otherwise "the hair would fall out"). The skin, already reduced perhaps by half, is lifted out with a stick which is then thrust into the ground so that the trophy will dry. Then the skin is turned inside out and all the flesh adhering to it is scraped off with a knife. The scraped skin is turned right side out and the slit in the rear is sewn together with string made from the inner bark of the *kumai* palm. A vine is also sewn around the inside of the base of the neck and the lips are tied with the same kind of string.

Five or six stones about two inches in diameter are heated in the fire. Each, in turn, is lifted with a four-pronged stick into the "sack" formed by the head skin and rolled around inside. When the stone cools, the head-taker grasps the *tsantsa* by the hair in order to turn it over to drop the stone back into the fire. When the skin is too small for pebbles to be rolled around in it, sand is heated in the food bowl and substituted for the pebbles, the inverted *tsantsa* being covered with a large leaf to keep in the heat. Periodically, the head-taker massages the skin to help the drying process and to affect the shape. The vine around the base of the neck is gradually drawn in closer so that the neck will become reduced in proportion to the head. After about an hour of this additional work with the heated sand, the expedition resumes its running trip homeward, stopping every afternoon for about two or three hours to continue the hot sand treatment of the skins. In addition, a machete is heated red-hot and pressed against the lips to dry them. Then three chonta palm pins are put through the lips and are lashed together with string of the *kumai* inner bark. The skin is also rubbed daily with finely powdered balsa wood charcoal so that it will become blackened and thus prevent the *muisak* of the murdered man from seeing out (see pp. 143–46). A large, hard red seed

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

578
765 *tsantsa*, for increasing the power of women who are members
796 of the host's household. Therefore, any fight that erupts is
immediately stopped by the other male participants, led by
• [774] the male master of ceremonies, the *wea*, who usually has been
[778] selected for the role because of his considerable ritual knowl-
[554] edge and prestige. Fights between females at the feast, al-
[624] though less common, are similarly halted by the women, led
[562] by the female ceremonial leader, the *uhá*, who is selected on a
basis similar to that for the *wea*. Thus the religious, ritual,
765 and social pressures of the occasion operate to make it the
796 safest, most euphoric, and largest social gathering known to
727 the Jívaro. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *tsantsa*
feasts tend to be viewed by the Jívaro as the pinnacles of
[619] their social lives. It is also expectable, given the ethos of kill-
[571] ing and counter-killing, that this, the greatest celebration,
[181] centers around the indisputable evidence of a triumph over a
common enemy. The intimate interaction between the eupho-
[533] ria of the celebration and the awareness of the murdered
[535] enemy is illustrated by this *tsantsa* feast circle dance song:
[539]

Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Today, today, let us greet the dawn only playing.
Čuwi[5] tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn playing.
Čuwi tells me
Čuwi tells me
We are going to greet the dawn.

And they taught me previously,
I cannot sleep easily,
And I will meet the dawn together with Čuwi.
And don't you sleep!
And don't you sleep!
For now it is dawning, for now it is dawning.

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakanï*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tuŋurä, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro